

ISSUES OF THE CONFLICT—TERMS OF PEACE.

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SPEECH

OF

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

ON THE OCCASION OF

THE FALL OF ATLANTA,

AT AUBURN, SATURDAY, SEPT. 3, 1864.

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MY DEAR FRIENDS: It is so that I like to see you come marching to the time of national airs, under the folds of the old national flag. I thank you for this hospitable and patriotic welcome. It proves that though you deal rigorously with your public servants, exacting reasons for their policy, energy in their conduct of affairs, and explanations for failures and disappointments in their administration, yet you are, nevertheless, just, because you willingly allow them to rejoice with you, when you have successes, victories, and triumphs to celebrate.

The news that brings us together is authentic. (A voice—Do you think it is reliable?) Yes. Here is a telegram which I received this morning from the Secretary of War: "Van Duzer reports that Sherman's advance entered Atlanta about noon to-day. Particulars not yet received. Edwin M. Stanton." (Three cheers were given for Atlanta.)

Now this news comes in a good shape. It is pleasant to have a grand result at the first, and it protracts the interest of the thing to have particulars coming in afterwards. (Yes, yes; we can wait for the particulars.)

This victory comes in the right connection. It falls in with the echoes of the capture of Forts Gaines and Morgan, which I understand to be the *particulars* of Farragut's glorious naval battle in the bay of Mobile, a battle equaled by no other in American history, but the naval achievements of the same veteran admiral at New Orleans and Port Hudson, and all these have no parallel in naval warfare but the battles of the Nile and Trafalgar. (A voice—I wish we were all Farraguts.) Well, my friend, I know the Admiral well, and I confess that we all can't be Farraguts. Indeed, very few of us can. But we may take this comfort to ourselves, that as a whole people, we can appreciate the veterans. We can also appreciate Sherman, who has performed the

most successful and splendid march through a mountainous and hostile country recorded in modern history, and in doing this we show ourselves inferior in virtue to no other nation.

By the way, everybody admired Farragut's heroism, in climbing the topmast to direct the battle. But there was another "particular" of that contest that no less forcibly illustrates his heroic character. "Admiral," said one of his officers, the night before the battle, "won't you consent to give Jack a glass of grog in the morning, not enough to make him drunk, but just enough to make him fight cheerfully." "Well," replied the Admiral, "I have been to sea considerable, and have seen a battle or two, but I never found that I wanted rum to enable me to do my duty. I will order two cups of good coffee to each man at two o'clock, and at eight o'clock I will pipe all hands to breakfast in Mobile Bay." (Hurrah for Farragut.) And he did give Jack the coffee, and then he went up to the masthead and *did it*.

The victory at Atlanta comes at the right place. The rebellious district is in the shape of an egg. It presents equal resistance on its whole surface. But if you could break the shell at either of the two ends, Richmond and Atlanta, the whole must crumble to pieces. While Sherman, under Grant, has been striking the big end, Meade, under Grant, has been striking just as hard blows upon the lesser end. The whole shell will now be easily crushed, for it has grown brittle with the exhaustion of vitality within.

This glorious victory comes in good time for another reason. Just now we are calling upon you for three hundred thousand more men—volunteers, if you will, drafted men if we must—to end the war. You were getting a little tired of long delays and disappointed expectations. In Indiana, a portion of the people, instigated by rebel plotters at the Clifton

House, in Canada, were importing British revolvers in boxes which passed the Custom-house as stationery, under pretense of arming to defend themselves, but really to resist the draft and bring the Government down to ruin through a subordinate and auxiliary civil war in the West. True, no arms have been imported here. Yet delegates went out from among you, and sat down in council at Chicago, with those Indiana conspirators, and agreed with them not only that this importation of arms should be defended in the election canvass, but also to demand the cessation of the war, upon the ground that success in restoring the Union is unattainable. Already, under the influence of the cheering news from Atlanta, all this discontent and this despondency have disappeared. We shall have no draft, because the army is being reinforced at the rate of five or ten thousand men per day by volunteers. (Hurrah for the volunteers.) May I not add that this victory at Atlanta comes in good time, as the victory in Mobile Bay does, to vindicate the wisdom and energy of the war administration. Farragut's fleet did not make itself, nor did he make it. It was prepared by the Secretary of the Navy; and he that shall record the history of this war truthfully and impartially, will write, that since the days of Carnot no man has organized war with ability equal to that of Stanton. (Cheers for Stanton, cheers for the Secretary of the Navy.)

But auspicious as the occasion is, it has, nevertheless, failed to bring out some whom we might have expected here. Why are they not here to rejoice in magnificent victories that will thrill the hearts of the lovers of Freedom throughout the world. Alas, that it must be confessed, it is party spirit that holds them aloof. All of them are partisans. Some are Republicans who cannot rejoice in the national victories, because this war, for the life of the Nation, is not, in all respects, conducted according to their own peculiar radical ideas and theories. They want guarantees for swift and universal and complete emancipation, or they do not want the nation saved. Others stay away because they want to be assured that in coming out of the revolutionary storm, the ship of state will be found in exactly the same condition as when the tempest assailed it, or they do not want the ship saved at all; as if anybody could give such guarantees in the name of a people of thirty millions. Others are Democrats. They received from their fathers the axiom that only Democrats could save the country, and they must save it by Democratic formulas and combinations which the progress of the age has forever exploded. They cannot come up to celebrate achievements which condemn their narrow and hereditary bigotry.

Others, of both the Republican and Democratic parties, are willing that the nation shall be saved, provided that it shall be done by some of their chosen and idolized chiefs, which chiefs they mutually denounce and revile.

They cannot honor Grant and Sherman and Granger and Farragut and Porter and Winslow, because by such homage they fear that Fremont's and McClellan's fame may be eclipsed.

Nevertheless, there are enough here of the right sort, (Yes—that's true,) enough of men who once wore Republicans, but who, taking that word in a partisan sense, are Republicans no longer, and men who once were Democrats, but who, taking that word in its narrow application, are Democrats no longer. All of these are now Union men, because they found out at the beginning of this tremendous civil war, or at some period in its progress, that no man—no party—no formula—no creed could save the Union, but that only the people can save it, and they can save it only by ceasing to become partisans, and becoming patriots and Union men. (Cheers for the Union.)

Yes, my friends, when this war shall have ended in the restoration of the Union, no man then living will exult in the recollection that during its continuance he was either a Radical or a Conservative, a Republican or a Democrat, but every man will then claim to have been throughout an unreserved and unconditional Union man.

But why should party spirit, especially at this juncture, divide the American people? And why should I, a member of the Executive Administration, allude to it on such an occasion as this? The answer is at hand. The Constitution of our country commands that Administration to surrender its powers to the People, and the People to designate agents to assume and exercise them four years. You receive the Executive Government in a condition very different from what it was when committed to our care, and highly improved. We found it practically expelled from the whole country south of the Delaware, the Ohio, and the Missouri, with the most of the army and navy betrayed or fallen into the hands of the insurgents, and a new and treasonable Confederacy with the indirect but effective co-operation of foreign Powers, establishing itself on the Gulf of Mexico. We cheerfully give the Government back to you with large and conquering armies, and a triumphant navy, with the hateful Confederacy falling into pieces, and the rebellious States, one after another, returning to their allegiance.

Regarding myself on this occasion, therefore, not as a Secretary, but simply as one of the people, I, like you, am called by my vote to determine into whose hands the precious trust shall now be confided. We might wish to avoid, or at least to postpone that duty, until the present fearful crisis is passed. But it cannot and it ought not to be avoided or adjourned. It is a Constitutional trial, and the nation must go through it deliberately and bravely.

I shall, therefore, cheerfully submit, for your consideration, the course which I have concluded to adopt, and the reasons for it.

First, I beg you to remember, that the present is no common or customary Presidential



election. It occurs in the midst of civil war, arising out of a disputed succession to the Executive power. Disputed successions are the most frequent causes of civil wars, not only in Republics, but even in Monarchies. A dispute about the succession of the President, periodically begets an abortive or a real revolution, in each one of the Spanish and American Republics. So the disputed succession of the Spanish throne, begot that memorable thirty years' war, which convulsed all Europe. A dispute whether Juarez was the lawful President, brought on the present civil war, with the consequence of French intervention in Mexico. A dispute whether the present king of Denmark, who succeeded to the throne last winter, is lawful heir to the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, brought about the civil war in that country, which, through German intervention, has just now ended with the dismemberment of the Danish kingdom. It is remarkable also, that civil wars produced by disputed successions, invariably begin with resistance by some one or more of the States or provinces which constitute the kingdom, empire, or republic which is disturbed. It was so with the united States of Mexico. It was so in the united States of Columbia, and the case was the same in the united States of Venezuela. Now it is certain that in 1860 we elected Abraham Lincoln, lawfully and constitutionally, to be President of the whole United States of America. Seven of the States immediately thereon rushed into disunion, and, summoning eight more to their alliance, they set up a revolutionary government. They levied war against us to effect a separation and a distinct sovereignty and independence.

We accepted the war in defense of the Union. The only grievance of the insurgents was that their choice of John C. Breckenridge for President was constitutionally overruled in the election of Lincoln. They rejected Lincoln, and set up a usurper. The executive power of the United States is now, therefore, by force, practically suspended, between that usurper, Jefferson Davis, and that constitutional President Abraham Lincoln. The war is waged by the usurper to expel that constitutional President from the Capital, which in some sort is constantly held in siege, and to conquer the States which loyally adhere to him. The war is maintained on our side to suppress the usurper, and to bring the insurgent States back, under the authority of the constitutional President. The war is at its crisis. It is clear, therefore, that we are fighting to make Abraham Lincoln President, of the whole United States, under the election of 1860, to continue until the 4th of March, 1865. In voting for a President of the United States, can we wisely or safely vote out the identical person whom, with force and arms, we are fighting into the Presidency? (No, No.) You justly say, No. It would be nothing less than to give up the very object of the war at the ballot-box. The moral strength which makes our loyal position impregnable, would pass from us, and when that moral strength has

passed away, material forces are no longer effective, or even available. By such a proceeding we shall have agreed with the enemy, and shall have given him the victory. But in that agreement the Constitution and the Union will have perished, because when it shall have once been proved that a minority can by force or circumvention, defeat the full accession of a constitutionally chosen President, no President thereafter, though elected by ever so large a majority, can hope to exercise the Executive powers unopposed throughout the whole country. One of two things must follow that fatal error. Either a contest between your newly-elected compromise President, and the same usurper, in which the usurper must prevail, or else a combination between them, through which the usurper or his successor, subverting your Constitution and substituting his own, will become President, King, or Emperor of the United States, without foreign aid, if he can, with foreign intervention if necessary. (That's so.) To be sure it's so; nothing is more certain than that either the United States and their Constitutional President, or the so-called Confederate States, and their usurping President, must rule within the limits of this Republic. I therefore regard the pending Presidential election as involving the question, whether, hereafter, we shall have our Constitution and our country left us. How shall we vote, then, to save our country from this fearful danger? (Vote Lincoln in again.) You have hit it exactly, my friend. We must vote Lincoln in again, and fight him in at the same time. If we do this, the rebellion will perish and leave no root. If we do otherwise, we have only the alternatives of acquiescence in a perpetual usurpation, or of entering an endless succession of civil and social wars. Upon these grounds, entirely irrespective of platform and candidate, I consider the recommendations of the Convention at Chicago, as tending to subvert the Republic. (It's so, that's a fact.)

It will seem a hard thing when I imply, that a party, like the Democratic party, can either mediate or inconsiderately adopt measures, to overthrow the Republic. All experience, however, shows that it is by the malice or the madness of great parties that Free States have been brought down to destruction. You often hear alarms that a party in power is subverting the State, and it sometimes happens so. But nine times out of ten, it is a party out of power, that in its impatience or its ambition overthrows a Republic.

The Democratic party, of course, leaving off the Loyal Union Democrats, opposed the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860. In doing so, they divided and organized in three columns. One a treasonable column of State-Rights-Disunion Democrats under Breckinridge. A second, a loyal northern column, under Douglas. The third a loyal but conciliatory flying column, under John Bell, who has since joined the insurgents. We thereupon invited the two loyal columns to combine with the Republican party to oppose the disunion Democratic column.

They declined. On the eve of the election of 1860, I told the followers of Douglas and of Bell, that when the election should have closed, they would find they had inadvertently favored disunion and rebellion. They persisted, and the attempted revolution came. Disunion then presented itself, in the practical form of preventing Abraham Lincoln from assuming the Executive authority, (and it stands before us in exactly the same form now.) Thus the Democratic party produced that calamity, the Southern Democrats acting from design, the Northern Democrats passive through inadvertence. The disputed succession still remains unadjusted. A new election has come on. For a time, the Northern Democrats, with notable exceptions, gave a more or less liberal support to the Government against the Democratic insurgents of the South. But the same Democratic forces which operated in the election of 1860, now appear in the political field, with positions and policy unchanged since that time, as I think, except for the worse. The Southern Democracy is still in arms under the usurper at Richmond. The Douglas and Bell columns consolidated, are found at Chicago, and all three of the parties are compassing the rejection of Abraham Lincoln, the constitutional President of the United States. They agree not only in this attempt, but they assign the same reasons for it—namely, that Abraham Lincoln is a tyrant.

They agree, also, that the real usurper at Richmond is blameless, and pure, at least the Richmond Democracy affirm it, and the Chicago Democracy do not gainsay it. To me, therefore, the Democracy at Richmond and the Democracy at Chicago, like Cæsar and Pompey, seem to retain all their original family resemblance. They are very much alike—especially Pompey. But it is not in mere externals that their similarity lies. They talk very much alike, as I have already shown you. When you consider that among the Democrats at Chicago, the Indiana Democrats were present, who have imported arms to resist the national authority and defeat the national laws, and that all the Democrats there assembled agreed to justify that proceeding, I think you will agree with me that the Richmond Democrats and the Chicago Democrats have lately come to act very much alike.

I shall now go further and prove to you that they not only have a common policy, and a common way of defending it, but they have even adopted that policy in concert with each other. You know that when the Chicago Convention was approaching in July last, George N. Sanders, Clement C. Clay, and J. P. Holcombe appeared at the Clifton House, on the Canada bank of the Niagara river, fully invested with the confidence and acquainted with the purposes of Jefferson Davis and his confederates at Richmond. You know, also, that Chicago Democrats resorted there in considerable numbers, to confer with these emissaries of Jefferson Davis. Here is the fruit of that conference, and no one can deny the authenticity of my

evidence. It is extracted from the *London Times*, the common organ of all the enemies of the United States. The New York correspondent of the *London Times*, writing from Niagara Falls, under date of August 8, says :

Clifton House has become a center of negotiations between the Northern friends of peace and Southern agents, which propose a withdrawal of differences from the arbitrament of the sword. The correspondent then goes on to explain that an effort is to be made to nominate a candidate for the Presidency on the platform of an armistice and a convention of States, and to thwart, by all possible means, the efforts of Mr. Lincoln for re-election.

Mark now, that on the 8th of August, 1864, Northern Democrats and Richmond agents agree upon three things to be done at Chicago.

Namely : 1st. A withdrawal of the differences between the Government and the insurgents from the arbitrament of the sword. 2d. A nomination for President of the United States, on a platform of an armistice, and ultimately a convention of the States. 3d. To thwart, by all possible means, the re-election of Abraham Lincoln.

Such a conference, held in a neutral country, between professedly loyal citizens of the United States and the agents of the Richmond traitors in arms, has a very suspicious look. But let that pass. Political elections must be free, and therefore they justly excuse many extravagancies. We have now seen what the agents of Pompey and Cæsar agreed at Niagara that Pompey should do at Chicago. Here is what he actually did :

*Resolved*, That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate Convention of all the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

The Democracy at Chicago did there just what had been agreed upon with the Richmond agents at Niagara, namely, they pronounced for an abandonment of the military defense of the Union against the insurgents, with a view to an ultimate National Convention, and the defeat of the election of Abraham Lincoln. That is to say, they proposed to eject Abraham Lincoln from the Presidential Chair at Washington, on the 4th of March next, and at the same time leave the usurper, Davis, unassailed, secure and unmolested in his seat at Richmond, with a view to an ultimate Convention of States, which that usurper's constitution will allow no one of the insurgent States to enter. What now, if there be no convention at all, or if the convention fail to agree on a submission to the Federal authority? Jefferson Davis then remains in authority, his Confederacy established, and the Union with all its glories is gone forever. Nay, more, if such a thing could happen as that the Chicago candidate, nominated upon such an agreement, should be elected President of the United States on the



first Tuesday of November next, who can vouch for the safety of the country against the rebels during the interval which must elapse before the new Administration can constitutionally come into power? It seems to me that such an election would tend equally to demoralize the Union and to invite the insurgents to renew their efforts for its destruction.

It remains for me now only to give you the proof, that although the way in which the Chicago Democracy did what had been agreed upon in their behalf at Niagara, was not altogether satisfactory, yet what they actually did was accepted as a full execution of the previous compact:

ST. CATHARINES, C. W., Sept. 1.

To Hon. D. WIER, *Halifax*:

Platform and Presidential nominee unsatisfactory. Vice-President and speeches satisfactory. Tell Philemore not to oppose.

(Signed)

GEO. N. SANDERS.

D. Wier is a Richmond accomplice at Halifax, and Philemore is understood to be the conductor of the insurgent organ in London.

Here, then, we have a nomination and a platform which were made by treaty formally contracted between the Democratic traitors at Richmond, and the Democratic opposition at Chicago, signed, sealed, attested, and delivered in the presence of the London *Times*, and already ratified at Richmond. ("By Heaven, we've got 'em.") Got them, to be sure you've got them, my friends. They say I am always too sanguine of the success of national candidates and of the national arms. But it seems to me that the veriest croaker in all our loyal camp will take new courage, and become heroic when he sees that the last hope of the rebellion hangs upon the ratification of this abominable and detestable compact by the American people.

Yes, you have got them; but how did you get them? Not by any skill or art of the Administration, or even through the sagacity or activity of the loyal people, but through the cunning of the conspirators overreaching itself, and thus working out their own defeat and confusion. They do say that the father of evil always indulges his chosen disciples with such an excess of subtlety, as to render their ultimate ruin and punishment inevitable.

And what a time is this to proclaim such a policy, conceived in treachery, and brought forth with shameless effrontery. A cessation of hostilities on the heel of decisive naval and land battles, at the very moment that the rebellion, without a single fort in its possession on the ocean, or on either of the great rivers or lakes, is crumbling to the earth, and at the same time a dozen new ships of war are going to complete the investment by sea, and three hundred thousand volunteers are rushing to the lines, to complete the work of restoration and pacification.

There is a maxim which thoughtful teachers always carefully inculcate. It is that inconstancy is imbecility, and that perseverance is necessary to insure success. This maxim was set forth in the form of a text in the writing-book, when I was young: "Perseverance always

conquers." Even infantile beginners encountered the instruction in the form of a fable in Webster's spelling book. The story was, that after using soft words and tufts of grass, the farmer tried what virtue there was in stones, and by persistence in that application, he brought the rude boy who was stealing apples down from the tree, and made him ask the farmer's pardon. Our Chicago teachers tell us that just as the rude boy is coming down, we must lay down the stones and resort again to the use of grass, with the consequence, of course, that the farmer must beg pardon of the trespasser.

But what makes this Chicago policy more contemptible, and even ridiculous, is that it is nothing different from the policy with which the same parties now contracting actually ushered in disunion in 1861, in the closing hours of the Administration of James Buchanan. Yes, my dear friends, when we of this Administration came into our places in March, 1861, we found there existing just the system which is now recommended at Chicago, namely: 1st, a treasonable confederacy in arms against the Federal authority; 2d, a truce between the Government of the United States and the rebels, a veritable armistice, which was so construed that while the National ports and forts were thoroughly invested along the sea-coast and rivers by the insurgents, they could be neither reinforced, nor supplied even with food, by the Government; 3d, A languid debate with a view to an ultimate National Convention, which the rebels haughtily despised and contemptuously rejected. What were the alternatives left us? Either to surrender ourselves and the Government at discretion, or to summon the people to arms, terminate the armistice, adjourn the demoralizing debate, and "repossess" ourselves of the National forts and ports. All agreed that this course was right then. And now has all the treasure that has been spent, and all the precious blood that has been poured forth, gone for nothing else but to secure an ignominious retreat, and return at the end of four years to the hopeless imbecility and rapid process of national dissolution, which existed when Abraham Lincoln took into his hands the reins of Government.

Every one of you know, that but for that accession of Abraham Lincoln, just at that time, the Union would, in less than three months, have fallen into absolute and irretrievable ruin.

I will not dwell long on the complaints which misguided, but not intentionally perverse men, bring against the Administration of Abraham Lincoln. They complain of military arrests of spies and lurking traitors in the loyal States, as if the Government could justify itself for waiting without preventive measures, for more States to be invaded or to be carried off into secession. They complain that when we call for volunteers, we present the alternative of a draft, as if when the ship has been scuttled, the captain ought to leave the sleeping passengers to go to the bottom without calling upon them to take their turns at the pump.

They are not content with plotting sedition in secret places, but they go up and down the public streets uttering treason, vainly seeking to provoke arrest, in order that they may complain of a denial of the liberty of speech. The impunity they everywhere enjoy under the protection of constitutional debate, shows at one and the same time, that their complaints are groundless, and that the Union in the element of moral stability is stronger than they know.

The chief complaint against the President is; that he will not accept peace on the basis of the integrity of the Union, without having also the abandonment of slavery. When and where have the insurgents offered him peace on the basis of the integrity of the Union? Nobody has offered it. The rebels never will offer it. Nobody on their behalf can offer it. They are determined and pledged to rule this Republic or ruin it. I told you here a year ago, that practically slavery was no longer in question—that it was perishing under the operation of the war. That assertion has been confirmed. The Union men in all the slave States that we have delivered are even more anxious than we are to abolish slavery. Witness Western Virginia, Maryland, Missouri, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Jefferson Davis tells you in effect the same thing. He says that it is not slavery, but independence and sovereignty for which he is contending. There is good reason for this. A hundred dollars in gold is only a year's purchase of the labor of the working man in every part of the United States. At less than half that price you could buy all the slaves in the country. Nevertheless, our opponents want a distinct exposition of the President's views on the ultimate solution of the slavery question.

Why do they want it? For the same reason that the Pharisees and Sadducees wanted an authoritative solution of the questions of casuistry which arose in their day. One of those sects believed in a kingdom to come, and the other altogether denied the resurrection of the dead. Nevertheless, they walked together in loving accord in search of instruction concerning the spirit world. "Master," said they, "there was a man of our nation who married a wife and died, leaving six brothers. These brothers successively married the widowed woman, and afterwards died. And last of all the woman died also. In the resurrection, which of the seven shall have this woman to his wife?"

Now what was it to them whether one or all should have the woman to wife in Heaven. It could be nothing to the Sadducees in any case. What was it to any human being on this side of the grave? What was it to any human being in heaven except the woman and her seven husbands—absolutely nothing. Yet they would have an answer. And they received one. The answer was that while in this mortal state, men and women shall never cease to marry and to die, there will be in the resurrection neither death nor marrying or giving in marriage.

Although altogether unauthorized to speak

for the President upon hypothetical questions, I think I can give an answer upon the subject of slavery at the present day—an answer which will be explicit, and I hope not altogether unsatisfactory. While the rebels continue to wage war against the Government of the United States, the military measures affecting slavery, which have been adopted from necessity, to bring the war to a speedy and successful end, will be continued, except so far as practical experience shall show that they can be modified advantageously, with a view to the same end.

*When the insurgents shall have disbanded their armies, and laid down their arms, the war will instantly cease—and all the war measures then existing, including those which affect slavery, will cease also; and all the moral, economical and political questions, as well questions affecting slavery as others, which shall then be existing, between individuals, and States, and the Federal Government, whether they arose before the civil war began, or whether they grow out of it, will, by force of the Constitution, pass over to the arbitrament of courts of law, and to the councils of legislation.*

I am not unsophisticated enough to expect that conspirators, while yet unsubdued, and exercising an unrestricted despotism in the insurrectionary States, will either sue for or even accept an amnesty based on the surrender of the power they have so recklessly usurped. Nevertheless, I know that if any such conspirator should tender his submission upon such terms, that he will at once receive a candid hearing, and an answer prompted purely by a desire for peace, with the maintenance of the Union. On the other hand, I do expect propositions of peace with a restoration of the Union, to come, not from the Confederates in authority, nor through them, but from citizens and States under and behind them. And I expect such propositions from citizens and States to come over the Confederates in power, just so fast as those citizens and States shall have delivered themselves or shall have been delivered by the Federal arms, from the usurpation by which they are now oppressed. All the world knows, that so far as I am concerned, and, I believe, so far as the President is concerned, all such applications will receive just such an answer as it becomes a great, magnanimous and humane people, to grant to brethren, who have come back from their wanderings, to seek a shelter in the common ark of our national security and happiness.

The sun is setting. So surely as it shall rise again, so surely do I think that the great events we have now celebrated prelude the end of our national troubles, and the restoration of the national authority with peace, prosperity, and freedom throughout the whole land, from the lakes to the gulf, and from ocean to ocean.

And so I bid you good night; and may God have you, with our whole country, always in his holy and paternal keeping.

Enthusiastic cheers were given at the conclusion of the speech.



# THE PLATFORMS.

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**READ AND CONTRAST.**—Note the demand made in the Union platform that the Union must be restored, the Constitution maintained, the Laws enforced and the Ballot-box respected. And observe how, in the hour of Victory, when an unconditional surrender to these just demands is undoubted, if we but remain firm, the Democratic platform demands that we ground our arms and beg of rebels to return to the Union and grant us peace.

The following declaration of principles was adopted by the great National Union Convention which nominated ABRAHAM LINCOLN for President, and ANDREW JOHNSON for Vice-President, at Baltimore, on the 7th of June last.

*Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union, and the paramount authority of the Constitution and Laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinions, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

*Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels nor to offer any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an "unconditional surrender" of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, and in full reliance upon the self-sacrifice, the patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

*Resolved*, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic, and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defence, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have perilled their lives in defense of their country, and in vindication of the honor of the flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of their country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defence shall be held in grateful and overlasting remembrance.

*Resolved*, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty, with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve especially the proclamation of emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

*Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the Government.

*Resolved*, That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws or of the usages of civilized nations in the time of war by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of full and prompt redress.

*Resolved*, That the foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth and development of resources and increase of power to this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

*Resolved*, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific.

*Resolved*, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate; and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

*Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the Government that the people of the United States never regarded with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the western continent, and that they view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of this our country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

The Democratic National Convention which gathered at Chicago on the 29th of August, and presented the names of GEORGE B. McCLELLAN for President, and GEORGE H. PENDLETON for Vice-President, agreed on and adopted the following

#### PLATFORM.

*Resolved*, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution as the only solid foundation of our strength, security, and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both Northern and Southern.

*Resolved*, That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that, after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate Convention of all the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

*Resolved*, That the direct interference of the military

authority of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Delaware, was a shameful violation of the Constitution, and the repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

*Resolved*, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired; and they hereby declare that they consider the Administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of the civil by military law in States not in insurrection, the arbitrary military arrests, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force, the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, the denial of the right of asylum, the open and avowed disregard of State rights, the employment of unusual test-oaths, and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms, as calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a Government deriving its just power from the consent of the governed.

*Resolved*, That the shameful disregard of the Administration to its duty in respect to our fellow-citizens who now and long have been prisoners of war in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation, on the score alike of public interest and common humanity.

*Resolved*, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army, who are and have been in the field under the flag of our country; and, in the event of our obtaining power, they will receive all the care and protection, regard and kindness that the brave soldiers of the Republic have so nobly earned.